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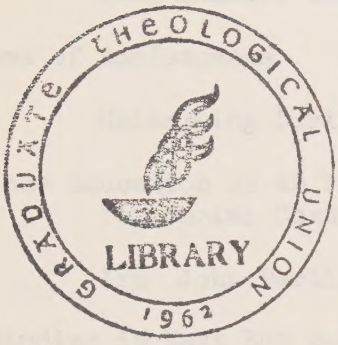

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THE LITERARY RELATION OF THE FOURTH TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

By

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THESIS

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I. A Survey of Recent Progress in the Field.

Until comparatively recent years, Johannine familiarity with and to a certain extent dependence upon the Synoptic Gospels was commonly taken for granted by most serious-minded critics. Given a date at least one or two decades after the latest of the Synoptics, coupled with a seeming abundance of references to Synoptic tradition in general, such a conclusion would appear most reasonable. It is not surprising that the early Church Fathers should have inclined to this view. Eusebius accepted as authoritative the tradition that John wrote with the conscious purpose of supplementing the older Synoptics. In summarizing the arguments of Proclus against Gaius of Rome in a late second century dispute over the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, he wrote, "The three Gospels already mentioned having come into the hands of all, and into his own too, they say that he accepted them and bore witness to their truthfulness..."[1] Less definite for our purposes but also illuminating is the quotation from Clement of Alexandria, for which he claimed descent from the earliest tradition, "Last of all John, perceiving that the bodily facts had been set forth in the other Gospels,...composed a spiritual Gospel."[2]

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[1] Hist. Eccl., III,24,vii.
[2] Op. cit., VI,14,vii.

Coming now to the beginning of the twentieth century, a characteristic statement is that of Paul W. Schmiedel of Zurich, "...it is almost universally agreed that the author of the Fourth Gospel had the other three before him when he wrote."[3] Schürer had said practically the same thing in 1889.[4] Wendt after more careful study came to the conclusion that, in spite of the obvious contrast, the fourth evangelist "must have known our three synoptic gospels." Not only did he assume "an acquaintance with synoptic tradition in his readers", but there is "close verbal coincidence" with the Synoptics in the parallel sections.[5] In following Synoptic wording John showed no particular preference for any one gospel, but alternated, now choosing one, now another. E. F. Scott in 1906 expressed in England a similar acquiescience, though he at least recognized some discrimination on the part of the fourth evangelist in the use of his sources. "... for the sequence of events he gives the preference to Mark, for separate details to Matthew, while in his larger view of the significance of Christ's life and work he is most in sympathy with Luke."[6]

It is worth noting as Wendt pointed out,[7] that up to

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[3] Johannine Writings, p.51.
[4] Ueber den gegenwartigen Stand der johanneischen Frage, in Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen, V. Folge, 1889, p.60. Cf. Drummond, CAFG, p.16.
[5] CAJ, p.33.
[6] Fourth Gospel, p.33
[7] Op. Cit., p.34.

this time the general fact of literary dependence had been emphasized by most critics regardless of their position as to the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Among those who reflected the traditional view of authorship were H. Holtzmann,[8] O. Holtzmann,[9] and Jacobsen,[10] in addition to Schmiedel (see above) and others. Theodor Zahn is one example of those who, like Clement and Eusebius, combined belief in apostolic authority with that of use by the apostle of the first three gospels.[11] Bishop Westcott seemed inclined toward this same attitude, citing at length numerous instances of verbal and other coincidence between the first three gospels and John. He hesitated to reach a definite conclusion as to literary dependence however, particularly in regard to Luke; "Such correspondences prove nothing as to the direct literary connexion of the two Gospels..." His purpose was rather that of harmonization.[12] There were one or two definite exceptions to the generalization of this paragraph. Such in particular was O. Wuttig, who denied any Johannine use of the Synoptics by making John precede the latter chronologically, and by representing Luke as a supplement to John.[13] Nevertheless the usual position was re-

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[8] Zw. Th., 1869, p.62f., etc. Cf. Wendt, GAJ, p.34.
[9] Das Johannesev., p.6f. Cf. Wendt, op.cit.
[10] Untersuchungen über das Johannesev., 1884, p. 46f. Cf. Wendt, op.cit.
[11] INT, Vol.III, pp.255f., 280f., etc.
[12] Gospel According to St. John, p.lxxviiif.
[13] Das Joh.-Evang.und seine Abfassungszeit, 897, pp.52-59, etc. Cf. Wendt, GAJ,, p.34, and Zahn, INT, III, 283.

flected in Burkitt on the one hand, and Sanday on the other. The former though not interested specifically in the problem seemed to assume at least familiarity with the Synoptics.[14] Sanday, on the opposite side, made the same assumption.[15] Latimer Jackson followed in his steps the next year (1906) in asserting literary dependence to be plainly discernible.[16]

Yet doubts were arising, in varying degrees, concerning this question of literary dependence. In 1903 James Drummond wrote that the facts established "that the writer of our Gospel was acquainted with the Synoptic cycle of narratives, but cannot prove that he made use of our Gospels or of any of them, though that also is by no means destitute of probability."[17] Bretschneider had positively rejected Johannine familiarity with the Synoptics because of the frequent mutual contradictions, and his feeling that knowledge would have presupposed at least some use of Synoptic speeches.[18] Gebhardt later tried to discredit all arguments which indicated use of the Synoptics by the Fourth Gospel.[19] About the same time appeared Abbott's Johannine Vocabulary (1905). Abbott did not attempt to draw sweeping conclusions from his comparisons of John's vocabulary with those of Matthew,

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[14] Gospel History and its Transmission, p.224f.
[15] Criticism of the Fourth Gospel, p.71.
[16] The Fourth Gospel and Some Recent German Criticism, p. 26.
[17] CAFG, p.16.
[18] Probabilia, p.65f. Cf. Drummond, CAFG, p.16.
[19] Die Abfassungszeit des Joh.ev., 1906, p.15f. Cf. Zahn, INT, III, 283.

Mark and Luke, though he favored the tradidionally accepted relationship. The book is an important one and has been used by proponents of both sides. The indications Abbott found of striking parallelisms with Mark, and few if any with Luke and especially Matthew, mark a distinct step toward the modern view of Streeter and others.

Worsley's "The Fourth Gospel andthe Synoptists", in 1909, made no lasting contribution save that his general conclusions agreed substantially with Bacon's in the following year and especially the conclusion concerning Matthew, namely that no conscious use was made of it by the fourth evangelist. The year 1910 marked the appearance of further opposing views, and the two most significant discussions thus far, aside from Abbott's. Moffatt conceded a lack of sufficiently important language parallels, but held that "the real connection of the Fourth Gospel with its predecessors lies not in vocabulary but in ideas....These upon the whole supportthe hypothesis that the author of the Fourth Gospel is frequently concerned to balance one of the synoptists against another as well as to correct all three." On "historical and doctrinal grounds" the Fourth Gospel can be shown at almost every parallel passage "to represent a more developed stage of Christian reflection upon the facts."[20]

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[20] ILNT, p.534.

There might be some hesitation in the case of Luke but for the adoption of numerous Lukan traits, and the many corrections of Luke. "The Fourth Evangelist...bases on Mark's narrative, but diverges from it repeatedly", sometimes due to "a preference for Matthew or Luke, or for both..."[21] The same views were maintained in later editions.

Bacon, after his own review of the field, diverged from most of the above judgments. Matthew, he believed, is practically ignored by John, which "corresponds with what we should anticipate regarding the Evangelist's attitude toward the most anti-Pauline of the Gospels." Mark is the fundamental basis, and the "only Synoptic writer from whom he quotes verbatim", though probably memoriter.[22] Luke is the basis for supplements and modifications as to motive and material. There was at least a growing consensus of opinion in regard to the basic importance of Mark.

In the same year Askwith, though recognizing the "independence of the Fourth Gospel, assumed that its author "tacitly corrects" the Synoptists.[23] Buckley in 1912 reached a conclusion akin to Bacon's when he decided that there were no "cases of close resemblance between St. John and passages peculiar to the First Gospel", but that the former clearly

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[21] Op.cit., p.546. Moffatt's views were followed in essentials by Maurice Jones in The New Testament in the Twentieth Century, 1914, p.402f.
[22] FGRD, p.367.
[23] Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel, p.297.

knew Mark and "Luke's non-Marcan source".[24] In 1918 Jackson reiterated his former position, saying, "There is a strong consensus of opinion, at all events it is widely allowed, that the Synoptic Gospels were known to, or known of by, the Fourth Evangelist."[25] However, he failed to weigh the various evidences for the first three gospels separately. Two years later Stanton, after a careful study of the problem decided that "The parallels with St. Mark certainly seem to afford evidence of an amount and kind sufficient to prove that the Fourth Evangelist knew that gospel fairly well. That he knew either of the others seems more than doubtful...", the slowness of distribution and transportation of new books explaining the seeming strangeness of such a conclusion.[26] The extreme position was taken again in 1922 by Garvie, who was "convinced that the parallels are not close enough to prove, and that the differences are great enough to disprove, literary dependence..." Knowledge of St. Mark "would have modified the contents of the Gospel to a greater extent."[27] He explained Synoptic elements as due to a redactor, an ingenious but hardly a convincing explanation.

No single work has had a greater influence on recent

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[24] ISP, p.271f.
[25] Problem of the Fourth Gospel, p.10.
[26] GHD, Vol.III, p.220.
[27] Beloved Disciple: Studies of the Fourth Gospel, p.38.

British and American thought on this subject than has Streeter's "The Four Gospels", the first edition of which was published in 1924. The conclusions of the chapter in question (Chap. XII) were maintained in subsequent editions. He concluded, chiefly on the ground of verbal parallels, that John must have been quite familiar with Mark, which had been longer in circulation and was more authoritative; that the case of the other two is doubtful, but parallels in connection with Mary and Martha and the Anointing, and a number of minor modifications, suggest fairly definitely a conflation of Mark and Luke. There was no real evidence for a literary connection with Matthew; probably the book was known to John but was new and not accepted by him "as having apostolic authority."[28] The Fourth Gospel was least sympathetic with Matthew lying rather in the line of development of Mark through Luke. Streeter's general conclusions were adopted by Bernard[29] and MacGregor, among others, in their commentaries. The former stated that John most probably used Luke or rather Q, but that there is no good evidence that he was aware of Matthaean tradition as distinct from that of Mark. MacGregor expressed the "probabilities" with only a slight difference concerning Matthew. "The evidence for

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[28] FG, pp.396f., 416.
[29] GASJ, pp.xcv,xcvi.

John's use of Matthew is quite inconclusive, and the probability is that he had no knowledge of it, or else that knowing it he ignored it on account of its Judaistic and Apocalyptic outlook."[30]

Goguel, writing in the same year as Streeter, analyzed the Fourth Gospel into numerous separate component parts, with a large proportion of sources in tradition other than Synoptic, as might be expected.[31] Yet he seemed disposed to recognize some Synoptic connections, especially with the bodies of tradition in Mark and Luke.

Robinson may be noted, in passing, for emphasis on oral tradition; the sources of the Fourth Gospel were "for the most part not written but popular sources."[32]

The other recent book which ranks exceedingly high as a careful, exhaustive study of the problem, and the outstanding work today, is that of H. Windisch, Johannes und die Synoptiker (1926). Reversing an earlier view that cast doubt on Johannine knowledge of the Synoptics,[33] he now believes that John was written to "displace" the other three. John's use of Mark may be considered certain, of Luke extremely probable, and of Matthew "not improbable". With this latter judgment McNeile agrees except that he considers knowledge

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[30] GJ, p.xi.
[31] QE, chap. XI.
[32] Gospel of John, p. 251.
[33] Zeitschrift N. T. Wissenschaft, 1911, p.174f.
[34] Introduction to Study of the New Testament, p.258.

of Matthew rather as more nearly certain.[34] Bacon, significantly, in 1932 (shortly before his death) expressed agreement with Windish, stating, "there will be little dissent from the conclusions of Windisch, supported as they are by detailed comparison of the texts, and adopted rather as admissions to opposing views than in support of his own."[35] In the same chapter he wrote that "...acquaintance with all three Synoptists must be regarded as highly probable."[36]

One or two more views should be mentioned before we conclude our survey. Carpenter's discussion ended in a conclusion not much different from Streeter's. Besides a "general knowledge of the main outlines of the Marcan tradition," the "acquaintance of the Evangelist with Luke seems to be fairly established." But "Familiarity with Matthew is not securely made out."[37] On the other hand Howard, though less specifically concerned with this problem, seems to me to be closer to Windisch in saying that "John often supplements and interprets the Gospels already in general favor, and..sometimes even corrects them."[38]

It is evident from the above that critical opinion is not yet united as to the literary relation of the Fourth

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[35] GH, p.113.
[36] Op. cit., p.114.
[37] JW, pp.236, 230, 229.
[38] Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation, p.149.

Gospel to the first three. This does not mean that great progress has not been made. No theory of complete independence has been successfully established, and advancement in that direction does not appear to be possible now in the face of such arguments as those marshalled by Windisch. Nor are other theories which deny any form of literary dependence on the part of the Fourth Gospel able to stand the fire of modern criticism, whether by claiming for it priority to the Synoptics, or by singling out the Synoptic elements as editorial redactions. Doubt lies rather in the manner and degree of dependence, and in whether Matthew and Luke are to be included in the same category with Mark.

In 1927 Vincent Taylor wrote that "Opinion is practically unanimous that the evangelist used Mark; it is divided as to the use of Luke; and, on the whole, unfavorable to the writer's use of Matthew."[39] It would be nearer the truth today to say with Russell that "It is now generally recognized that the author of the Fourth Gospel..knew at least Mark and Luke..."[40] if we understand thereby that absolute proof does not seem possible, and that this is particularly true of Luke. The chief debate, as has been indicated, is over Matthew. A group centering around Streeter is inclined to believe that John made no use of Matthew. Another, of

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39"The Fourth Gospel and Some Recent Criticism", in Hibbert Jr., V. 25, p.729.

40Message of the Fourth Gospel, p.17.

which we may call Windisch the conservative "leader", while realizing the paucity of evidence yet feels that neither is there sufficient evidence to disprove what seems inherently probable, that the Fourth Evangelist knew Matthew and that some traces of this knowledge may be found in his Gospel.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the importance of this question. The problem is inseparable from all questions as to date, authorship, and method of the author of John.

With this general background in mind we shall consider the relation of the Fourth Gospel to Mark, Matthew, and Luke in turn, seeking to weigh as carefully as possible all pertinent data.

II. The Fourth Gospel and Mark.

In view of the priority of Mark and its apparently wide circulation, we should expect to discover the author of the Fourth Gospel to be familiar with it if with any of the Synoptic writings.

1. Vocabulary.

Similarity in general vocabulary is not marked, nor on the whole does it seem significant. Abbott cited twenty-nine words peculiar to Mark and John, of which at least eleven or more occur in parallel passages, and at least one is used in a different sense.[1] Only two occur more than two or three times in either gospel. One of these is φανερόω, "manifest", which appears nine times in John but only once in Mark. The other instance, κράβαττος, "pallet", carries more weight inasmuch as the word is used five times in Mark and four in John, and elsewhere in the New Testament only twice, in Acts. Furthermore, the word was condemned as a vulgarism in contemporary Greek.

It is doubtful whether even a complete enumeration of the two vocabularies, side by side, would throw much light on the problem. In addition to the wide differences between

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[1] JV, p.249f.

them, there is the further difficulty that the Fourth Gospel often uses a word in a different sense. It is at least interesting to notice that this occurs less often in the Markan-Johannine vocabulary.

Certainly we must admit that the most fruitful study of vocabulary lies within the parallel passages themselves. Judging merely from the total number of instances in which words are common to Mark and John in the same form and relative position in the passage, John shows no particular preference for Mark, the number being about two hundred and thirty-five. Matthew has ten more, and Luke eighty less. Including also like words of different form, ending, or position, but omitting prepositions, articles, and the most common conjunctions, Mark has approximately two hundred and forty-five, Matthew two hundred and fifty-eight, and Luke one hundred and sixty-eight.[2] Considering that so many of these are common to all four Gospels, or at least to three, it is significant that there are so few. This fact lends all the more importance to exact parallels when they do occur; but for this we must turn to a study of the parallel passages themselves.

2. General framework.

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[2]Due to doubtful passages and other factors it is almost impossible to give exactly accurate figures.

Here again the differences are more striking than the similarities, but that is as true of the relation to Matthew and Luke as of that to Mark. First after the Prologue comes the testimony of John the Baptist, common to all three Synoptists. The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke are omitted, but too much emphasis must not be placed on this in view of the Fourth Evangelist's remarkable freedom in handling Synoptic tradition generally. Then follow other common elements, the Call of the First Disciples (albeit quite differently told), an early visit to Capernaum, and the differently placed story of the Cleansing of the Temple at a Passover; after a more extended Johannine intermission in the form of a Judean, Samaritan, and a brief Galilean ministry the question of healing on the Sabbath arises in Ch.5 (though the occasion is not the same, and the place is Jerusalem instead of Capernaum). There is the Feeding of the Multitude, the Crossing of the Sea, and after discourse, the Confession of Peter (in a modified form). Following a period of teaching and healing in which it is difficult to find other than reminiscences of Mark or the other Synoptics, we come at last to the Triumphal Entryand the Anointing at Bethany (reversing Mark's order for the two; and the account of the anointing is much changed), and the remaining events of the Last Supper, the Betrayal and Arrest in Gethsemane, the trials before the High Priest and Pilate, the Crucifixion,

Burial, and Resurrection. All this in general represents Synoptic rather than strictly Markan tradition, and I see no real reason for asserting that John is following Mark rather than his two successors, unless we take into account subordinate details (contrast Bacon, Bernard, and others).

3. Parallel Passages.

The words of the phrase, "he that cometh after me", referring to John the Baptist (Jn.1:15,26) are found in Mark in a different form, but not in Luke. But since the exact phrase is in Matthew, it will be discussed later in that connection. The καὶ λέγων peculiar to Mark and John seems to be of little significance. In John 1:21 "Elijah" and "the prophet" remind us of Mark 6:15 and Luke 9:8 where the terms are likewise connected with John the Baptist. The quotation from Isaiah (John 1:23) is the same in all three Synoptists except that Luke quotes more at length. "I baptize..in water" (John 1:26) also is common tradition, but John seems slightly nearer to Matthew. The reference to shoes as an indication of the Baptist's humility before his successor is distinctly closer to Mark and Luke, who alone have λύσ(ω)..αὐτοῦ..τὸν ἱμάντα. The words from the baptismal scene, "the spirit descending as a dove" (John 1:32) are common Synoptic tradition, and it is difficult to decide whether a preference for the wording of any of the gospels is shown; the order is slightly nearer Matthew's, and the

form, Mark's, but the details are so small as to be of little or no value. (Cf. Stanton's emphasis on Mark's omission of καὶ πυρί.)

In Chapter 2:13-16 the Cleansing of the Temple is parallel to the accounts given in Matthew 21:12-17, Mark 11: 15-19, and Luke, and the differences with Mark and Matthew are considerable. Goguel believes John's source here to have gone back to a more primitive version of the story. The allusions to "casting out of the temple", "doves", to "money-changers", and their "tables" being over-thrown, probably indicate a relation to the Synoptic tradition, but not necessarily to Mark and Matthew. Mark and John alone have καὶ...εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, but this proves nothing in itself.

In the opening of the fourth chapter εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν following a reference to the Baptist, is parallel to Mark 1:14; but the phrase is also in Matthew, and, without the reference to John, in Luke. John 4:44 with its saying, "A Prophet has no honor in his own country", has elements of kinship with Mark 6:4 and Matthew 13:57 on the one hand, and Luke 4:24 on the other. It would be difficult to say whether the Fourth Evangelist was acquainted with any of the above renderings or whether his was an unconscious combination of the two.

One of the more important passages occurs in the sixth chapter, where the account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand

is paralleled in Mark 6:30-46, Matthew 14:13-23, and Luke 9:10-17. Ἀπῆλθεν is peculiar to Mark nd John in connection with the departure to a desert place. In verse 10 there is ἀνέπεσαν. Πολὺς ὄχλος in verse 5 is in common with Matthew and Mark. But the significant phrase peculiar to Mark and John is in verse 7, parallel to Mark 6:37, Διακοσίων δηναρίων ἄρτοι. (Mark has ἄρτους and the first two words reversed.) What makes the parallel double interesting is the fact that here it is part of Philip's answer to a question put by Jesus. In Mark the answer is made by the disciples, and to a command of Jesus that they feed the multitude. Luke merely mentions the expedient of buying food, and Matthew omits even that. The phrase must be regarded as a significant one. (As Streeter has noted; Cf. also Wendt, Stanton, MacGregor and others.) But it is also evident that if the Fourth Evangelist was debtor to Mark rather than to an intermediate or parallel, he probably did not write with a copy of Mark's passage before him, but rather put together the various elements of his story from memory. If this hypothesis should be correct then the Evangelist was no doubt familiar also with the account of the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Mark 8:1-10, Matthew 15:32-39), as indicated for example by his use of καὶ εὐχαριστήσας as found therein instead of εὐλόγησεν (John 6:11 and again in 23.) (This might derive from thought of the eucharist celebration in the

last supper, but that is less probable.)

The author of the Fourth Gospel apparently considered the account of Jesus withdrawing to the mountain and the Walking on the Sea as a part of the same incident, as in Mark and Matthew (lacking in Luke). In each case the Markan parallels are duplicated in Matthew. If John was unacquainted with the latter then these lend further support to the case for Mark, but the assumption cannot yet be made (although Streeter, Stanton, and others cite John's omission of the story of Peter in this connection in Matthew). One of the more important parallels is the address of Jesus in verse 20, Ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε·

In the same chapter, verse 53, three words appear from the Synoptic account of the Last Supper, but they are such as would be necessary to a discussion of the Eucharist, "eat" his flesh and "drink" his "blood".

The story of the Anointing in Chapter 12:1-8 is in a position to that of the account in Mark 14:3-9, and Matthew 26:6-13; but there is much in common, as we shall see, with Luke 7:36-50. Mark and Matthew agree that the incident took place at Bethany, shortly before the Passover. There are several phrases peculiar to Mark and John. Νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυ-, preceded by μύρου which occurs in each of the gospels, Howard describes as "enough to prove documentary

dependence".[4] (Contrast Moffatt.) In verse five we find τοῦτο (also in Matthew) τὸ μύρον...τριακοσίων δηναρίων [5] In verse seven John has Ἄφες αὐτήν as compared with Mark's ἄφετε αὐτήν. Taken together, these phrases certainly convince one that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was in some way familiar with distinctly Markan tradition. (Cf. Wendt, Stanton, Streeter, MacGregor, etc.) Added to these is verse eight, the familiar passage of Mark and Matthew relating to "the poor".

The Johannine account of the Triumphal Entry shows no affinities with Mark which are worth noting. Several words are in common with Matthew and Mark as against Luke.

John 12:28 is reminiscent of Jesus' Baptism in the words, "a voice out of heaven"; but their form merely indicates a compromise among the variations in the three earlier gospels, and even this is only a surmise.

Buckley cited John 12:44 as a parallel to Mark 9:37; but the ideas and phrasing are so at variance, coupled with the fact that not dissimilar expressions are found in Matthew and Luke, that it seems possible only to consider this as a general "reminiscence" of phrase, if that.[6]

4FGRCI, p.144. Streeter points out that πιστικῆς is not found elsewhere in Greek literature in this sense except in allusions to this passage (FG, p.397).

In the story of the last supper there is very little exact parallelism of any sort, and none distinctly Markan. In John 13:21 the prediction of the betrayal is in the words of Mark 14:18 and Matthew 26:21 (see Wendt, Streeter). The only instance in the prediction of Peter's denial is the reference to Jesus by name, which of course may be dismissed as accidental coincidence.

Streeter cites ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν in John 14:31 as recalling Mark 14:42, Judas' betrayal following immediately in both Gospels if the next three chapters of John are misplaced.[7] But since Matthew 26:46 is exactly parallel to Mark here we can hardly consider this as an "out-of-the-way phrase" of Mark alone (Cf. Wendt).

Turning to Chapter 18, we find in the story of the Betrayal, besides several Matthew-Mark phrases such as we have already noticed only two words peculiar to Mark and John, ἔπαισεν used in the incident of the high priest's servant, and ὠτάριον where Matthew has ὠτίον .

In the Jewish Trial, aside from the fact that the phrase, "into the court of the high priest", which is repeated also in Mark, varies slightly in Matthew and more in Luke, (although in the Synoptics it refers to Peter instead of "another

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[5]The last two words with Aleph,C,D,L,etc. They are reversed from Johannine order except in the margin of WH.
[6]ISP, p.271.
[7]FG, p.397.

disciple"), there is one word common only to Mark and John. καὶ θερμαινόμενος of Mark 14:55,67, is used, likewise of Peter, in John 18:18,25. The latter usage appears to be in the manner of elaboration of a familiar passage, as for example in the application of the word to the servants and officers also in verse 18. Certainly Streeter, Stanton, and others seem right in listing this as an important passage.

The opening verse, 28, of the Trial before Pilate may or may not owe the origin of πρώι to Mark 15:1; Matthew, also, has πρωίας . Verse 40 contains a long phrase, ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων of which only the first two words are found also in Matthew. The parallel is robbed of some of its importance by the fact that Pilate's previous question to Jesus as to his being "King of the Jews" is recorded in all four evangelists; nevertheless the words common to Mark and John might well indicate that the other sections were borrowed from Mark, also, unless we discover evidence to the contrary. The cry σταύρωσον αὐτόν in verse 15 links the two evangelists against the varying forms used by Matthew and Luke.

In the account of the Crucifixion Luke is the only one who omits mention of "Golgotha" or of two Marys, and one or two similar details. Most of the parallels are common to the Synoptists. Mention of Pilate and Joseph of Arimathaea in

verse 38 is in a form a little closer to Mark than to the other two.

The Resurrection story would appear to be a blending of general Synoptic tradition and other elements. However, Mark and John both have πρωί the same verb for "came", the picture of an angel sitting within the tomb (John has two angels, Mark one "young man"), and some other minor points of contact.

One other important similarity should be mentioned here, though the passages are not exactly parallel. The Fourth Gospel's story of the healing of the lame man at Bethesda in Chapter 5 must be compared with the Synoptic healing of a paralytic (Mark 2:1-12, Matthew 9:1-8, Luke 5:17-26). Mark 2:9,12 has Ἐγείρου[8] [καὶ][9] ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει..καὶ..ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν whereas John 5:8,9 reads, Ἔγειρε ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει...καὶ ἦρε τὸν κράβαττον αὐτοῦ καὶ περιπάτει. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the Fourth Evangelist by an unconscious recollection of the words of the other story came to use them in his account of a different event (Cf. Wendt, Streeter, Carpenter, MacGregor, Stanton). We have already

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[8]With B,L, Theta, 28; Aleph, A,C,D, 33, etc. read Ἔγειρε. Matthew and Luke have only Ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει. The repetition in Mark v.11 reads ἔγειρε.
[9]With Aleph, A,B, Gamma, Delta, Theta, etc.; C,D,L, 33, Pesh, etc. omit.

spoken of the importance of κράβαττον in connection with the vocabulary. Streeter stresses further that since Christ did not speak in Greek it is most reasonable to suppose that Mark's vocabulary "was familiar to John".[10]

4. General Conclusions.

There has been no effort to give herein an exhaustive list of minor agreements of John with Mark, and I believe that such an enumeration would add but little to the effect of what has been said already. The unique parallels we have found in the case of the Lame Man at Bethesda, the Feeding of the Multitude, the Anointing at Bethany, and the Trials; the considerable number of minor agreements as against Matthew all indicate some kind of literary dependence, either direct or indirect. The evidence for Mark alone, going one step farther, seems sufficient to establish as a practical certainty the conclusion that the author of the Fourth Gospel was familiar with and consciously or unconsciously dependent upon the Synoptic tradition as related by Mark.

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[10]FG, p.398.

III. The Fourth Gospel and Matthew.

We may as well recognize at the outset that the case for Matthew, if any, must rest upon far less outstanding points of detail; and that a decision as to the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the first will in the nature of things be more difficult to make.

1. Vocabulary.

As was said in the last chapter, Matthew compares favorably with the Second Gospel in the number of words common to it and John. In regard to general vocabulary, Abbott lists thirty-four words peculiar to Matthew and John. Nine of these however are used in a different sense; and at the most, one is parallel.[1] This one possible instance, βῆμα or "judgment seat" will be discussed in connection with the trial before Pilate. The word of greatest frequency is ἄρτι (adv.), used seven times in Matthew and twelve in John. διψάω four times in Matthew means physical thirst, and once expresses thirsting after righteousness; in the six occurrences in John it generally has a spiritual meaning. κραυγάζω appears in Matthew 12:19 in a quotation from Isaiah 42:2, once in Acts, and six times in John, once used concerning Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus. Although as Abbott

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[1] JV, p.265f.

says, the word was commonly used coarsely or in ways which would make it inappropriate to apply it to Christ, there is no proven connection with Matthew.

There is a larger number of words on which Matthew, Mark and John agree, and notable in that many are found in parallel contexts; yet there is no particular evidence shown here in favor of the Fourth Evangelist's familiarity with Matthew. A possible exception to this, but rather uncertain, is Abbott's argument that the surprisingly large number of parallels, and the almost nonexistence of identical words used in altered context "in such a way as to imply disagreement", may well mean that John is agreeing with "Mark supported by Matthew", considering their combined evidence "too weighty to reject".[2] We con hardly regard this as more than a possibility; but at least the theory may help to balance in part the unfavorable evidence found thus far concerning vocabulary. A more probable explanation, but one not necessarily incompatible, is given by Abbott himself in seeking to account for the very small number of Mark-Luke-John agreements, in contrast, when he states that Luke follows Mark closest in such healing narratives for example as John omits, and that he is inclined to alter Greek "vulgarisms" where John retains them.[3]

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[2] JV, p314.
[3] JV, p.316f.

This last generalization certainly does not fit all facts. In the Cleansing of the Temple, the five words common to the other three Gospels are lacking in Luke, apparently because he substituted a highly condensed narrative for the Markan account. Only κολλυβιστής is a late word, condemned by the Atticists.[4] None of the Lukan omissions in the Feeding of the Multitude appear to be other than words in good taste. The same seems to be true of the some thirteen parallel words in the Crossing of Sea. Why Luke omitted this incident, though, is problematical. But at least it is clear that substitution of more refined words on the part of Luke does not explain by far the larger part of Luke's "omissions".

Another interesting fact is the very large number of words common to Matthew, Luke and John; but here there is a surprising lack of parallel usage, apart from Mark.

Evidence from a common vocabulary then shows no real indications of Johannine familiarity with Matthew; and deviations in usage of the same words might even be construed as arguing against such knowledge on the part of the Fourth Evangelist, though not necessarily so.

2. Framework.

What was said concerning Mark seems also true here. There are however one or two possible points of resemblance to Matthew. The brief mention in John 2:12 of Jesus going

down from Cana to Capernaum with his family is nearer to Matthew 4:12f. ("he dwelt", etc.) than to Mark and Luke, especially in its position in the framework. But there is no positive identification with Matthew, and the differences are even more imposing than the similarities.

John 4:46-54, the story of the Healing of the King's Officer of Capernaum, at Cana, bears obvious likenesses to Matthew 8:5-13, with which it agrees more closely than the parallel in Luke 7:1-10. Goguel believes that there is no particular connection with Matthew and that we have only parallel rescensions, perhaps from a common source.[5] The passage will be considered again in the next section. The question of the omission of material in Matthew and Luke has been touched upon. Possibly we might consider the Prologue as a substitution for the introductory matter in Matthew and Luke, though I should not be inclined to agree; but I see no real evidence either way, and it is all too easy to be drawn to biased conclusions which are altogether subjective.

In general, there is certainly nothing to indicate dependence of the Fourth Evangelist upon Matthew as regards the structure of the Gospel.

3. Parallel Passages.

We discovered in our previous study of Mark that there

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[4]Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.
[5]QE, pp.396,397.

were no long nor very clear parallels between Matthew and John except such as were shared also with Mark. There are however a number of minor agreements.

In John 1:15 as has been noted the phrase ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος is common to John and Matthew.[6] Mark has ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω , and Luke has the same except for the last word. The manner of repetition in John 1:27 suggests that to the author it was either a familiar or a choice personal phrase. Importance is added to the parallel construction by its position; in Matthew 3:11 and Luke 3:16, "I baptize in water" immediately precedes, as in John whereas in Mark this expression follows instead, and is in a past tense instead of the present. Again, the phrasing of John duplicates that of Matthew (except that the latter has μὲν ὑμᾶς after ἐγω). Wendt considered all this a case of dependence (p.35). On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel's reference to unloosing the latchet (of shoes) shows that if he was using Matthew he was also using either Mark or Luke; the latter was slightly closer, but the form was not quite the same in either case. It is very possible that the Fourth Evangelist chanced upon these particular Matthaean forms of expression, nd liked one well enough to repeat it (which was characteristic of him), especially if the general order were taken from Luke. But in view of the several points of agreement it is at least just as reasonable to suppose, so

far as this passage is concerned, that the Fourth Evangelist obtained this phrasing from a Matthaean version of John the Baptist's Mission.

In the baptismal reference there is an agreement in order with Matthew, and in the preposition (ἐπ' instead of εἰς) with Matthew and Luke, but these details are too slight to require attention.[7]

Matthew 21:12 in the story of the Cleansing of the Temple has, with John ἐξέβαλεν πάντας , Mark and Luke, ἐκβάλλειν. . If literary connection were proven this might be a "reminiscence"; but again, the detail is too slight. Another such detail is the omission of the statement of Mark and Like that henceforth the Jewish authorities sought to destroy him. Immediately following in John is the supposed quotation relating to the destruction of the "temple" and raising it again in three days, which in Matthew and Mark in a different form appears in the account of the Jewish trial. The expression in John is a little nearer Matthew, but the agreement is not close enough to prove literary dependence.

John 4:35 in its reference to a spiritual "harvest

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[6]Except that Matthew inserts δέ after ὁ. But in John 1: 27 the article is omitted.

[7]Wendt however considered the ἐρχόμενον of Matthew as the practical equivalent of ἔμεινεν in John, thus making a continuous parallel phrase.

carries one back to Matthew 9:37,38, and Luke 10:2; but practically the only word in common is that for "harvest". Likewise the following verses on sowing and reaping remind one at first glance of the Parable of the Tares in Matthew 13; but the resemblance to Pauline doctrine is closer. We have already spoken of the Johannine version of the saying, "a prophet has not honor in his own country", which agrees with varying minor details of the three Synoptics.

The Fourth Gospel's version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand has one minor agreement with Matthew and Luke, the expression for "remaining over" in connection with the broken pieces, used twice by the Fourth Evangelist in verses 12 and 13. The three do not agree in the particular form of the word; but Luke alone inserts ἄὐτοῖς between the two words.

In the discussion on Mark however it seemed reasonable to suppose that John represents a possible conflation in several respects of the Synoptic narratives of the Feeding of the Five Thousand and of the Four Thousand, respectively.[8] In the third verse just preceding the account of the latter in Matthew, namely chapter 15:29, we read, Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν... καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ· John 6:3, likewise a part of the main narrative, is as follows: ἀνῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκάθητο...· . The parallel in Mark omits this altogether, and inserts a break in point of

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[8]The asking for "signs" after the feeding of the 4000 is another possible instance.

time before the miracle of the loaves.[9] Streeter accepts the passage as a definite parallel (Cf. also Stanton), but argues that the statement is unlike Matthew's usual editorial addition, of incidents of special interest, and opposed to his usual tendency to compress Mark. The easiest solution then would be the hypothesis that this passge stood originally in Mark, later being dropped accidentally by the process of homoioteleuton. This would better explain the placing of the event on the east side of the lake in John, as Mark's account of the Four Thousand makes the site one adjacent to Decapolis.[10] Though this hypothesis is attractive and logical, it seems to raise more difficulty than it removes. Even by Streeter's own dating of the Fourth Gospel[11] at least twenty-five years elapsed after Mark was in circulation before John was written. This hypothesis would force us to suppose either that copies made of all the manuscripts of Mark in circulation about 100 A. D. suddenly dropped this passage by the same accidental process, an impossible assumption; or else that the authors of Matthew and John for some unknown reason were almost alone in obtaining "original" copies of Mark, and in spite of the high value they placed

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[9]Similar phrases appear in each of the Synoptics, as in Matthew 5:1, Mark 3:13; 6:46, and Luke 6:12; 9:28. But there is no added reference to Jesus as seated, outside of Matthew; and the contexts of course differ.

[10]FG, pp.413-415.

[11]FG, p.456 for example, "...no difficulty..in supposing that John the Elder wrote the Gospel A.D.90-95..." (Mark well before A.D.70).

upon the original, and the fact that henceforth the genuineness of the incident was also attested by the two later Gospels, these two copies, at differing places and times, dropped out of sight. In any case, not a shred of evidence was left in any extant text to the effect that such might have been the original rendering of Mark 7:31. Streeter also overemphasizes it seems to me the necessity for considering Matthew to be dependent solely on Mark here and not on any other source, in view of the wide divergence between Matthew and Mark. The latter has only the story of the healing of the deaf man with an impediment in his speech; Matthew relates how the "lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others..." were healed.

On the other hand there is no absolute certainty that the Fourth Evangelist derived this single passage from Matthew. The degree of probability will depend largely on the amount of other evidence that is uncovered. (Cf. Schmiedel, p.51, who in arguing dependence here points to the two references in John 6:3,15 to Jesus ascending the mountain without any intermediate mention of descent, as further evidence for the use of Matthew.)

The story of the Crossing of the Sea as we have noticed contains virtually no parallels save those common to both Mark and Matthew. Immediately preceding, John in describing Jesus' retirement to the mountain (verse 15) says that he

went μόνος ; Matthew, κατ' ἰδίαν , and in the latter part of the verse that he was there μόνος . There is one possible, though doubtful, agreement in the account itself. In giving the position of the boat, Mark says that it was ἐν μέσῳ of the sea. Matthew 14:24 has σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ πῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν and verse 19 of John, ὡς σταδίους εἴκοσι πέντε ἢ τριάκοντα.. The Matthaean text here is uncertain, the above being supported by B, Min., Syr. Cur., Pesh., Coptic, etc., and in part by Theta. Aleph, C,L,W,X,It.,Vg., etc, have μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν and D, ἦν εἰς μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης. Assuming textual assimilation, then, as Streeter says, it is more probable that Matthew has been assimilated to John rather than to Mark, which was "least read", and since also Matthew copied Mark in the first place.[12] Perhaps to be considered is the use of ἤδη in both Matthew and John.

The reference to the Eucharist in John 6:53 contains the word for "eat", which is shared only with Matthew. But, as has already been said,this is not significant.

In John 8:39,40 there seems to be reference to some such passage as Matthew 3:9 or Luke 3:8 (both from Q) in speaking of the Jews as having Abraham for their father and being his children. At least no preference is shown for Matthew, here or elsewhere, though possibly for Luke.

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[12] FG, p.410.

The Anointing at Bethany has several minor agreements with Matthew. In verse 3 there is ἀνακειμένων instead of Mark's κατακειμένου (Though John makes it apply to all eating, while both Synoptists refer to Jesus only.) Mark's notable phrase ends with πολυτελοῦς . Matthew here has βαρυτίμου (Cf. Wendt). In other words John agrees with the first part of the word in Mark and the second part in Matthew. Πολυτίμου is given for Matthew in Aleph, A,D,L, Theta, Pesh., 33, etc.; but the other rendering of B, Gamma, Delta, etc., is given precedence in Wescott and Hort. The saying of verse 8, "For the poor ye have always with you..." omits with Matthew Mark's intermediate phrase, "and whensoever ye will ye can do them good". Too much importance must not be credited to an omission, even one like this.

The Triumphal Entry beginning in verse 12 has ὁ ὄχλος in common with Matthew, which is easy to understand as a coincidence. Perhaps unfavorable to dependence is John's following of Mark and Luke in the omission of "Son of David". John agrees with Matthew in quoting from Isaiah 62:11 and Zechariah 9:9, or at least the latter verse (Cf. Wendt, Carpenter, Streeter); but John's quotation is by no means identical with Matthew's in form, which lends probability to the assumption that the source may well have been a variant Old Testament translation.

John 12:27 reminds oneof the Agony in Gethsemane, and is

nearer Matthew and Luke in omitting "Abba" before "Father", but the expression is otherwise different from that in the Synoptics. Again in 13:20 the saying is identical in meaning with Matthew 10:40; but the words used (though not the general "structure") are different, and the saying seems to have been a common one as shown by varying parallels elsewhere in the Synoptics. The question of relation is therefore very uncertain.

In the Prediction of the Betrayal the Fourth Gospel follows only the words in Matthew; that is, he omits Mark's addition. John and Matthew alone include "Lord" in the question of the disciples, and the word "answered" of Jesus. Similarly, the prediction of Peter's denial has "Verily I say to you" as omitted only by Mark.

Turning to the Betrayal, Matthew and John both include the command of Jesus to the disciple to put up his sword. The parallel is not verbal (except for "sword into") but one of idea; and it is the sort of detail which might have been added independently.

The mention of Caiaphas as being high-priest, John 18:13 and Matthew 26:57, raises the question as to how familiar such names might be about 100 A.D. If our evangelist knew Matthew he no doubt gained his information in that way; but once more we cannot be sure.

The Trial before Pilate gives several very minor agree-

ments, (such as τότε). A more interesting parallel is in verse 2, which reads, οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἀπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ... . Matthew 27:27,29 has οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἀπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ.... and Mark 15:16,17, οἱ... στρατιῶται...πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον· The order is closer to Matthew, but the only addition to Mark is the note as to the crown being placed on Jesus' head, which is not a striking nor unusual comment. As Streeter points out, it is significant that John does not concur with Matthew in his unique account of the reed as a mock scepter; but this is our old problem of omissions.[13] As before we must conclude that the relation of John to Matthew is uncertain.

There is one other interesting agreement in this passage, John 19:13 with Matthew 27:19, Pilate sitting down ἐπὶ βήματος . Matthew has the article, and the context varies. Since the word is common in the book of Acts, it might well have been one with which the Fourth Evangelist was familiar.

To the Markan and Lukan rendering of the words on the sign on the cross both Matthew and John make additions. The only word found in both, though, is "Jesus". Τὸ πνεῦμα is used by both in the description of Jesus' death, and by Luke in a different manner as a part of Jesus' last words.

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[13] FG, p.412.

ἔλαβον...το σῶμα (Matthew, λαβὼν) in the burial scene is the same type of agreement (John v.49, Matthew v.59).

A seemingly striking parallel to John 19:34, descriptive of the piercing of Jesus' side, is its practical equivalent in Matthew 27:49. The latter, though supported by Aleph,B,C, L, Etc. as against A,D, Delta, Theta, Syr.Sin., and most other old authorities, is so doubtful as to be of little value for our purpose.

Matthew and John both use the word καινός to describe the tomb. Since the author of the Fourth Gospel does not indicate that he knows to whom the tomb belongs and Joseph's ownership is clearly stated in this same phrase in Matthew, Streeter supposes that a manuscript rendering of the word in John as κένον (empty) is original, and also better fits its Johannine context.[14] However both authors refer to Joseph as a disciple of Jesus (though not in quite the same terms); and that the tomb was Joseph's seems clearly implied in Mark, with which the Fourth Evangelist is now assumed to be familiar, in the clause, "which he had hewn"... Luke is closest to John in this respect. Though this argument must be taken into account as a possibility, I think it altogether likely that the author of the Fourth Gospel is here, as often elsewhere, putting together materials from diverse sources. This would leave the carrying over of a word from Matthew here

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[14] FG, p.412.

at least a possibility.

In a Resurrection Appearance John 20:17 has Jesus speak of bearing a message to τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου ; the same words are parallel in Matthew 28:10 except that according to his following instructions they are to meet him in Galilee. The expression is unique as applied to the twelve disciples. Perhaps as Streeter suggests this coincidence was due to assimilation in Matthew, or the original was in the lost ending of Mark (as Moffatt had thought probable, even when citing this as the chief Matthaean parallel);[15] but these are no more than bare possibilities, and especially the former surmise. The Galileaean appearance is at first sight a striking coincidence but the Johannine account is in the doubtful Chapter 21, and the original Mark no doubt also narrated such an event , since it contained instructions to the disciples to follow Jesus into Galilee (Mark 16:7, Matthew 28:7). John agrees with Luke in omitting the latter. (Schmiedel, p.130f. believed the Jerusalem appearance to be a later narrative which grew up.)

There remains the question of whether the healing of the centurion's servant has a parallel in John. Matthew's account (8:5-13) is a little closer than Luke (7:1-10), chiefly because of its omissions, and also in that the man himself comes to Jesus, and at the close the emphasis on the heal-

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[15] IINT, p.534.

ing taking place "in that hour". There are also one or two elements peculiar to Luke and John on the other hand. The differences make the relationship very doubtful. (Cf. Goguel and Wendt who recognizes important differences and yet distinct elements from both Matthew and Luke.)

4. Conclusions.

There is no evidence which we can call of a positive nature to prove that the author of John used Matthew. In the latter event we should expect a greater correspondence in vocabulary, and expecially in the material peculiar to Matthew and in the more extended teachings as given in Matthew and Luke. There are a considerable number of very minor agreements; and if dependence were established we should certainly consider these to be derived from Matthew, as was the case with Mark.

Many have stressed the disagreements with and omissions from Matthew's accounts. Though these are many and significant, yet instances not so different in Mark do not really worry us. The chief and telling fact is that there is no sufficient number of unique and striking parallel passages, at least none of which we can be absolutely certain.

On the other hand, though dependence cannot be proven from any evidence such as we have considered, there is certainly not sufficient evidence to assert that the Fourth Evangelist probably was not familiar with Matthew. On the

contrary, the more important common elements indicate that such knowledge might well have existed. In this event the most likely hypothesis is that Matthew, being comparatively new and perhaps less familiar, or less definitely accepted, was known to our Evangelist; but as he was writing largely from memory in regard to the Synoptic traditions his much greater familiarity with Mark would serve to explain why there are so few, if any, "quotations" from Matthew, though his mind, whether consciously or not, derived some elements from the Matthaean version of the gospel story.

This must be adjudged as rather uncertain; we must say, on the basis of the evidence, that it is only a very reasonable possibility, or at the most a probability.

IV. The Fourth Gospel and Luke.

The relation of Luke is also a very doubtful one.

1. Vocabulary.

We find seventy-two words cited by Abbott as belonging to a Luke-John Vocabulary. Of these only nine are used with a different meaning. Abbott further lists "Son of Joseph" as applied to Christ, "sons of light" used by Christ, "my friends" used of his disciples by Christ, and other short phrases probably without any great bearing on the problem of literary relationship. Despite the larger number of common words however it is significant that there are practically no exactly parallel usages, and that the words are so often used in quite different contexts.[1] The number of verbal similarities as we have found is very much smaller in the parallel passages here than in Matthew and Mark, whereas the parallel sections are just where we should expect to find evidences of Johannine familiarity. All this makes us hesitate to ascribe any great significance to the common elements in the vocabulary. The latter might be due to writing in a period of later development, and in a more nearly similar atmosphere,[2] and to the inclusion of more diverse elements in the gospels. We found a similar trend though not

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[1] JV, p.283.
[2] Especially if Streeter's suggestion is correct that Luke was written at Corinth. FG, p.150, etc. Cf. Moffatt, ILNT, p.535.

so pronounced (and with some differences) in the case of Matthew.

2. General Structure.

There is no need for discussing again the main features, but there are at least two points to be considered here. It has seemed quite probable that the story of the Feeding of the Multitude in John represents a conflation of the two different accounts given in both Matthew and Mark. The question arises whether the Fourth Evangelist was not following Luke in giving only one account, and that of the Five Thousand. I can find no features within the Lukan account which lend support to such a judgment except the site, near Bethsaida, which was on the east of the Jordan.[3] However, in Matthew and Mark Peter's confession follows considerably later, after a short interval following the Feeding of the Four Thousand. In Luke and John it follows almost immediately (though in John the intermission is one of at least a day or so) upon the account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The fact that the Fourth Gospel derives its account, and with it the story of the Walking on the Water, from Mark and possibly Matthew also, however, and the differences

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[3]This fact is also indicated in Mark's account of the Four Thousand. There is the further minor detail that Luke and John place their statement that there were five thousand men adjacent to the instructions that the people sit down, Matthew and Mark adding this at the close

between the Johannine and Synoptic "Confession" (though τοῦ θεοῦ bears a little closer relation to Luke) subtract somewhat from any significance here.

Another interesting coincidence is the fact that John and Luke are unique in mentioning a Samaritan ministry and omitting the "Gentile Mission" at Tyre and Sidon, as well as their mention of Samaria and Samaritans in a favorable light. Matthew 10:5 mentions the Samaritans but in a command of Jesus that his disciples avoid them in their missionary activities. The parallelism ends with the title and the general idea, however. Goguel believes the Johannine narrative to be a unity and that there is no need to presuppose a source in tradition,[4] which would fit our suggestion that the general idea might have been derived from Luke (see Buckley, Carpenter). On the other hand it might well have existed in floating tradition.

3. Parallel Passages.

The questioning of the Baptist by his auditors, John 1:19ff., may have been suggested by the questions asked of him in a similar context in Luke 3:10-15, and the closing statement that the multitude wondered "whether haply he were the Christ", combined with mention of the expected

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[4] QE, pp.394,395.

Elijah and the prophet as in Mark 6:15, and its parallel in Luke 9:8.

The passage of chief importance is a quasi-parallel to which we have already referred, the Anointing at Bethany, Chapter 12:1f. Though in the other two Synoptics the scene is the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany, the woman is unidentified, and the theme is the honor shown to Jesus (with mention of "preparation for burial"); in Luke the anointing is done at the house of a Pharisee by a woman who was a "sinner", and the theme is her love and consequent forgiveness. Yet there are several features which strongly indicate that the Fourth Evangelist conflated the two accounts on the basis of familiarity with Luke also. Bethany in Markan and Matthaean tradition was familiar as a village near Jerusalem, Matthew for example saying that Jesus spent each night there during the last week. Martha and Mary, Martha being the one who served, were familiar to all readers of Luke 10:38-42 as gracious hostesses to Jesus in an unnamed village. (Drummond considered this familiarity with Mary, Martha, and also Lazarus, in itself proof of dependence on Lukan tradition.) John 11:1,2 identifies these separate lines of tradition, at the same time stating that Mary was the unknown woman who anointed Jesus. The significant feature is that the reference both to the village of Mary and Martha, and to Bethany, is to familiar details which needed only to be connected.

(Cf. Zahn, Wendt, Buckley, Streeter, Carpenter, MacGregor, and also Stanton.) The statement in John 12:2 that Martha served strengthens the connection considerably. The devotion manifested by Mary fitted perfectly with her character as portrayed in Luke.

The chief item which connects the two different narratives of the Anointing is the fact that John pictures the woman as pouring the ointment over Jesus' feet, and then wiping his feet with her hair, while Matthew and Mark say that she poured it on his head. Luke states that the woman wet his feet with her tears and dried them with her hair, then poured upon them the ointment. The Johannine phrase in verse 3 uses the same words as Luke where they thus parallel, with one minor exception (the word for "anointed") which is nevertheless closer to Luke than to Mark. It is quite possible that the agreement of John and Luke as to the anointing of Jesus' feet had its source in the Hellenistic manner of reclining at meals which made the feet more accessible and the head less so. It would be easier to ascribe such a change to Ephesian tradition than to the Fourth Evangelist. Yet in spite of this possibility, the linking of Mary and Martha with Bethany and the verbal correspondence make it appear quite probable that the Evangelist was familiar with those portions of Luke.

In the Prediction of Peter's Denial, John 13:38, there is reference, in common with Matthew and Luke, to only a single crowing of the cock. Luke's form is closer to John's (so Wendt, MacGregor), but in a very minor way. In Chapter 18:10, the Betrayal scene, John agrees that the right ear was the one severed. Matthew and Luke both say that the fiery disciple was admonished, though the former does so in terms nearer John's. There are several very minor coincidences in the Jewish trial, such as Peter's words of denial in one instance, οὐκ εἰμί . Buckley cites reference to Annas as high priest (Luke 3:2).[5]

Of more importance is the fact that in the trial before Pilate both John and Luke have Pilate say three times that he found no fault in the prisoner (Cf. Wendt. John 18:39; 19:4,6; Luke 23:4,14,22). The phrase varies slightly, but the Greek words used are always the same. In verse 6 John also has the mob's exhortation to "crucify him" repeated as in Luke, though the form of the verb agrees with Mark. Both Luke and John place the mocking before the final condemnation and in juxtaposition to Pilate's attempt to release Jesus, although the former ascribes to Herod the direct responsibility for the mocking. (Contrast Stanton, for example, as against Streeter, MacGregor, and others.)

There are some minor agreements in the account of the Crucifixion though none of apparent importance.

John 19:42 states with Luke 23:53 that no one had ever been placed in the tomb; the fact is implied in Mark 15:46 and clearly so in Matthew, but this statement would have been most easily derived from Luke. John reads, ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος , and Luke, οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος .

The Resurrection story in John and Luke both open with τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων , although most of the words occur in Matthew and Mark also. Luke 24:12 which agrees closely with John, (verses 3,5, and 10) cannot be seriously considered because the text is exceedingly doubtful. It is contained in Aleph, A,B,L,W,X, Theta, etc. but omitted by D, 4, it, l vg. Likewise the Lukan counterparts of John 20:19,20 are rejected by Westcott and Hort as Western non-interpolations. Luke 24:40, with the description of Jesus showing his hands and feet, is one of these; and Jesus' words, "Peace be unto you" in verse 36, the other. Wendt placed special emphasis in these Resurrection story parallels, as did Buckley, though admitting the possibility that the verses in Luke were interpolations.

John has with Luke two angelic individuals in the tomb, but in other respects is closer to the other Synoptics. Streeter considers the placing of the first appearance to

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[5] SP, p.272.

the Twelve in Jerusalem instead of Galilee as the major coincidence between the two Gospels, but admits that the general nature and the importance of the belief make the probable source of both to be a divergent general tradition.

The chief "reminiscences" of possibly Lukan teachings or sayings have been considered in connection with Mark and Matthew

4. Conclusion.

Since the evidence is so meagre, it is hardly possible to say that it is conclusive. In contrast to Mark and the Mark-Matthew parallels in parallels in particular, there are practically no Lukan parallels whatsoever (even in common) in the Johannine accounts of the Cleansing of the Temple, and very few in the Feeding of the Multitude. Of course it is natural that there should be none in the incident of the Walking on the Sea nor in the story of the Anointing save where it is derived from Luke alone. But the same is true of the Triumphal Entry, the Prediction of the Betrayal, and in portions of the Trial narrative. Elsewhere there is a fair proportion of Lukan parallels alongside the others. There are certain phrases and sayings quoted by the Fourth Gospel which are common Synoptic tradition. Yet, as with Matthew, we should expect to find more Johannine use of peculiar Lukan material or at least of Q if he were as

thoroughly familiar with it as he probably was with Mark.

Nevertheless the evidence is much clearer than was the case with Matthew, to the effect that the author of the Fourth Gospel was familiar with, and presupposed in his writing, distinctly Lukan tradition. Whether or not he knew Luke in a more primitive form is conjectural, so far as this study is concerned. We may state however that it is quite probable that the Fourth Evangelist knew Luke in some form; its use was no doubt through his remembrance of certain incidents and phrases rather than by the conscious analysis of a copy while writing.

V. Summary of Conclusions.

The conclusions of this study are that the author of the Gospel of John almost certainly knew and quoted from the Gospel of Mark; but that such certainty connot be ascribed to the case for Matthew and Luke. He quite possibly, or perhaps we might say probably, knew Matthew, and in that event much minor detail, and one or two phrases such as "he went up into a mountain.." are most likely traceable to that source. He quite probably was familiar with at least a very considerable portion of our Luke, and we can be more sure of ourselves here than with Matthew. In each instance the manner in which the Fourth Evangelist deals with his material indicates that he did not treat the works of his predecessors as formal source books, even in the manner of Matthew and Luke, but that he wove together largely in his memory his own dramatic version of the Gospel story. Whether or not absence of any reference to the infancy narratives indicates that those portions had not yet been added, assuming that the Evangelist knew both books, is an interesting question; but it seems impossible to answer it one way or the other.

Furthermore, it is obvious that greater authority was attributed to Mark that to the other two Synoptists, and that through long familiarity it was more a part of his thinking in regard to the external events in the life of Jesus.

We cannot of course enter into the problem of other Johannine sources.

The question of the Elder's degree of familiarity with the other two Gospels is a difficult one. In order for him to have used them in the manner we have suggested, he would, for example, have acquired a far greater knowledge as to their detailed contents than has the average Church School teacher or popular religious writer today. The process of acquiring such knowledge would have taken some time unless we presupposed a modern situation in which he studied the sources with the specific aim of his own writing in view, which is most doubtful. In the light of both his time and background and his own genius however such a process might have taken place within a comparatively short time. If the Elder knew Luke, and perhaps Matthew, thus well, we must explain why he used them so little. In answer to this, first, there is the fragmentary use of Mark as an example of his method. Second, his attitude toward the other two may, as we have suggested, have dictated a tendency to avoid a conscious use of them, or at least of Matthew. The local body of Ephesian tradition for example may have crowded out divergent versions of sayings and teachings of Jesus as related by the two newer Gospels. We have found that the Fourth Gospel rarely if ever took over any distinctly Lukan or Matthaean saying of Jesus or teaching about him. Most of all this, of course, is supposition.

Whether or not the author of the Fourth Gospel knew Q

as a separate document is quite uncertain, and the particular conclusions reached as to Matthew and Luke tend to exert some influence here. There seems to be no real evidence however, that Q was known to the Evangelist. Despite its size, the common vocabulary is generally lacking in parallel usage. The Healing of the Centurion's Servant is the longest common passage; but as we have seen, it is even difficult to determine whether or not we have here a case of dependence on Matthew or Luke. There are possible parallels of a general sort, such as that between John 8:39,40, Matthew 3:9, and Luke 3:8. Here the only verbal similarity is "father" and "Abraham", and there is nothing to indicate literary dependence in any definite way. Elsewhere, in like manner, I have been unable to find any cases of real agreement, of a positive nature, with Q material as such. A major difficulty is the fact that our knowledge of Q is derived from Luke and Matthew, with which we now assume the author of the Fourth Gospel quite possibly to be familiar. Perhaps the chief argument which might be made against Johannine use of Q is the comparatively small number of parallels with Q as compared with the John-Mark agreements.

Further progress is solving the problem of the literary relation of John to the Synoptics will lie not only in the direction of re-evaluation of evidence already considered, but in further analysis and study in the light of new dis-

coveries in such fields as language, background, textual criticism, and so on. One example of a problem yet to be solved is that discussed by Streeter and others, whether the Fourth Evangelist used "Proto-Luke" or a later and more complete edition.

The general problem is not yet a settled one. It seems fair to say that Johannine dependence on Mark is now established; but in the absence of sufficient evidence we are just a little uncertain of the case for Luke, and still more uncertain in regard to Matthew.

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